FACETS OF A BISHOP

This paper, once a fair sized magazine, has, in the words of Methodist Bishop Oxnam, testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the US House of Representatives, "dwindled to a pamphlet size by now, and is begging for money."

In the book "I Protest" in which Bishop Oxnam tells of his experience with the Committee, he repeats this testimony concerning our insignificance "now", but recalls a former time, 1940, when big churchmen were on our masthead and Eleanor Roosevelt praised us. In making excuses for having become connected with us, he mentions these distinguished and eminent persons as having preceded him.

Bishop Oxnam, having in the interim written for us one notable leading editorial, severed connections with us in 1942. Why did he do this? And, perhaps more important, why didn't he tell us the reason for his action? He wrote letters of resignation but the letters lacked candor. He left us in the dark.

But he did tell the reason to the Un-American Committee and he repeats the tale in this book. "Now, why did I resign? Because Mr. Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union one day came to me and said, 'Bishop, I wonder if you know who is really back of The Protestant Digest.'

"I said,'What do you mean?'

"He said, 'I would look into it very carefully. I think that magazine has Communist support.'

"Mr. Roger Baldwin is a man who knew that whole field intimately. I resigned because of what he told me, after having looked into the matter.

"Interestingly enough, one of the most influential churchmen, Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes, who was formerly here in Washington, was an adviser. I called him and told him immediately upon receiving this information from Mr. Baldwin that he ought to get his name off that list...."

Remember that at that particular time this paper was not without influence and that it was exposing in every issue the developing reactionary coalition of "purblind industrialists and alien-minded priests" mentioned by Bishop Oxnam in his preface to this book. Its power was thoroughly appreciated by its enemies who went about the task of doing away with it. After all, we had thrown ourselves into the midst of a real struggle, the struggle of the peoples of the world waking and rising against their oppressors. We had taken sides <u>with the people</u>. Their oppressors, the "purblind industrialists and alien-minded priests" had marked us out for elimination.

First, they tried to "get something" on us. They subpoenaed all our account books, took them to a downtown address, interrupting our work for several days to go through them, searching for evidence of misdoing. They found nothing. There was nothing to find. Our books had always been open to anyone who wished to look at them. Even enemies. One man, frustrated in his attempt to control our editorial policy and bent on our destruction, spent a week with a team of accountants searching for irregularities in our accounts.

Newspaper columnists were hired to libel us. It was arranged that we be "cited" by irresponsible government officials or by Congress, and that our tax privileges should be taken away. The tax official who acted for them is, as reported in a separate article, now in jail for crimes of tax evasion he was committing at that very time. A minister of the gospel was persuaded to go into court and perjure himself, swearing that we were Communists. It was arranged that a powerful committee, self-constituted "representatives" of Jewry should set all the Jewish organizations against us. Such a fog of suspicion and terror was created that a whispered accusation immediately hardened into an established fact. It was of little use trying to clear the fog away because the pressures towards falsifaction were manifold and insidious and fearful. Anyone with an ambition to be a big man or to remain a big man was made to feel these pressures in a thousand ways. Bishop Oxnam was big and wanted to be bigger.

And so this bishop became not only a victim of this terror but also its

perpetrator, just as a sick rodent involuntarily carries the plague. It shows clearly in his testimony. Roger Baldwin thought this magazine had "Communist support" and advised Bishop Oxnam to "look into it carefully" Bishop Oxnam, a victim of the terror, did not "look into it carefully". It is extremely doubtful that he gave it a second look. Of a certainty he did not write to us and give us a chance to answer Baldwin's "thought" just as the Un-American Committee didn't write to him, as he bitterly complains in this book, and give him a chance to answer their releases which damned him unheard. They were intentionally doing a job on him and this assassination-in-the-dark was part of the job. Bishop Oxnam was not intentionally doing a job on us. Yet the terror gripped him. "I resigned, he says, "because of what he (Baldwin) told me." Then he adds disingenuously "after having looked into the matter." This, we repeat, he did not do. Instead, as he blurts it out, overanxious to show the Committee and the public how quickly he acted against the "menace," he called Bishop Hughes "immediately upon receiving this information from Mr. Baldwin that he ought to get his name off that list."

This is underlined to indicate how precipitately, or, shall we say, hysterically Bishop Oxnam acted. He didn't wait to check. He didn't call the accused. Immediately upon receiving what Baldwin thought and what suddenly blossomed into "information" he rushed to the phone to get a fellow bishop "off that list". Terror is the road on which a coward becomes a killer.

Your editor is, as Bishop Oxnam indicates, no longer of importance. Nevertheless he does possess a typewriter, and a man with a typewriter is perhaps still not utterly to be despised. At any rate, Bishop Oxnam, while preparing to write "I Protest", wrote us three letters.

His first letter was dated Dec. 29, 1953, several months after he had asserted his innocence by dissociation from our magazine, leaving the definite impression in the minds of the American public that he agreed with the Un-American Committee's opinion as to our guilt, deceit and treachery to our readers. In this letter he asked for information regarding the source of our income, preferably audited statements, financial records and so on. He also asked for a reply to the testimony at the Executive Committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in June 1953, and for a statement on Congressman Clardy's allegation that The Protestant was really originated and directed by the Communist Party, or by individuals so in touch with the party as to amount to the same thing.

We replied as calmly as possible. Audited statements never broke down contributions into individual sources. Our records had long since been jettisoned along with every other piece of unnecessary baggage in our movement from small to ever smaller quarters. We of course denied that any party or individual had ever exercised the slightest control of the magazine. Bishop Oxnam's reply, Jan. 13, 1954, was kindly and sympathetic, full of grace:

"I did not mean to refer to you personally when I testified, but rather to the magazine itself. I deeply appreciate the spirit revealed in your letter." This was the humble follower of Jesus speaking, unacquainted with the brutal necessities of episcopal politics, unaware that his testimony had consisted of character assassination, naively assuming that you can damn the deed and leave the doer untouched. Editorial integrity was the only thing we had to give our readers. We had no rotogravure section, no pretty girls, no sensations. We had no wealthy parishioners, no angel. When Bishop Oxnam, relying on what somebody "thought", adjudged us guilty of double-dealing, of pretence, of dishonesty, he quite literally and quite casually destroyed our substance and our life-work.

In the second paragraph of his Jan. 13 letter, the "bishop" comes to the fore and gently but firmly reverts to the question of financial reports and asks again: "If there are no such reports available, would you be willing to let me have a frank statement as to whether or no any of your support came directly or indirectly from the Communist Party or from Communist sources."

The person who wrote Bishop Oxnam's letter must be a very divided and

distraught person. This person, or one of these persons, deeply appreciates the spirit revealed in our letter. The other person, however, does not go along with this. He still doubts our word.

We applied to Washington for a copy of the hearings and wrote to Congressman Clardy asking for the source of his allegation. Clardy didn't answer. Washington answered that the hearings requested were out of print. It appears that in these matters the one most interested is the last to be informed. In our case we were never informed.

However, through other sources some passages from the testimony given at these hearings were sent to us. This is the testimony on which Clardy based his gossip. It was given by one Manning Johnson, who, having confessed in prior proceedings that he had committed perjury twice, said he would "do it a thousand times" to protect the secrecy of the FBI "if the interests of my government are at stake". This candid gentleman testified that The Protestant "had as its aim and purpose using first the infiltration of the Protestant denominations; (sic to fit into the plan of establishing a conspiracy to infiltrate and destroy religion), secondly, to carry the materialist, anti-religious policy of the Communist Party into the religious denominations under the guise of religion." "Moreover," he added, "it provided the ministers with material for sermons that they delivered to congregations at the regular services."

Well, we wrote again (Feb. 26, 1954) to Bishop Oxnam, quoting this fictional howler and describing it as such. "There is not a shred or even a semblance of the truth in all this testimony."

In the meantime an article in Look magazine (Nov. 17, 1953) by Bishop Oxnam had come to our attention. It was a brilliant refutation of Dr. J.B. Matthews' attack on the Protestant clergy. Towards the end of this article Bishop Oxnam referred to a petition which could not be Communist. It was our petition he quoted. But he did not say it was ours. He did not identify it. It would have been helpful. In our Feb. 26 letter we asked him why. On March 8, 1954 we received a third letter from Bishop Oxnam.

"When I wrote you earlier relative to the financial backing of The Protestant, I was hopeful that you might be able to produce the evidence that would enable me to refute some of the allegations that are made concerning The Protestant." In other words, he had wanted to help us, but couldn't because we couldn't furnish proof of innocence. We had assumed that the burden of proof is on those who accuse.

Now suppose a Communist once voted for Bromley Oxnam in a Los Angeles city election, as no doubt many of them did, just as many Communists voted for the Democratic Party. What would this prove? Only that some Communists shared interim goals with these parties or individuals. Very frequently Communists embrace unexceptionable causes. In very truth is it not in great part due to the Communist espousal of good causes throughout the world that the Church has at last awakened to its lost opportunities and unaccepted challenges? This is an unpleasant thought and one against which Bishop Oxnam has apparently raised a block in his mind.

Even as to Communist "support" in this sense, as far as we know there was none. Communists ridiculed our call to war in behalf of Protestant England in the days of the Nazi-Communist pact, opposed our allegiance to the cause of Zionism, and generally belittled our religious approach. The money for stamps to circulate the petition quoted by Bishop Oxnam came from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The work accomplished by our Textbook Commission was financed by dinners and theatre parties. The expense of the full-page advertisements was borne in many cases by the newspaper publishers themselves. Our full page ad in a Philadelphia paper was reprinted without cost by the Ottawa Citizen. A Harrisburg ad hoc committee paid for a similar advertisement in that city.

In fact this widespread publicization of Christian guilt in teaching anti-Semitism, one of our chief contributions to the defense of democracy, a very costly job, practically paid for itself as it went.

This magazine, whose ministers walked in anti-fascist picket lines, appeared in courtrooms against anti-Semitic malefactors, paroled the streets, and in some cases endangered their lives in defense of the threat-

ened rights of the people, was supported by the people it served until it enemies pushed deep into the mind of America the terror of being called R and then proceeded to spread far and wide the lie that we were fellow-tra ellers, the lie which Bixhop Oxnam's testimony and his book have helped i mensely to spread.

In answer to this third letter of Bishop Oxnam we repeated:

"The Protestant magazine and its editorial policy were under my contr as the responsible officer of The Protestant Board of Directors throughou its existence. At no time throughout the existence of The Protestant did any political party or any member of any political party have any influen over its policy and direction.

"This should dispose of your other question as to 'How influential wa any Communist in the affairs of The Protestant magazine, if any were involved?'

"It is obviously impossible to know who uses a magazine for propagand purposes, or when or how they use it. Articles can be excerpted, editori paragraphs taken out of their context to serve all kinds of purposes, som times conflicting purposes: The Protestant has been called pro-British a anti-British, an organ of the Jesuits and a vicious anti-Catholic sheet.

"This also takes care of your final question: 'Can you not take time to write me fully and frankly so that I may know from you directly whethe there was any Communist control or infiltration in the affairs of The Pro estant.'

"There was none.

"I regret that you did not see fit to answer my question regarding yo Look magazine article in which you quoted me without credit."

No more letters came from Bishop Oxnam. And his book "I Protest" only deepens the impression left by his testimony, namely that The Protestant and its editor are frauds.

This account presents only two facets of this brilliant and many-sided figure. As a young minister in Los Angeles, fresh from the classroom of his great teacher, Dr. Harry Ward, he gave promise of making a real contribution to the overriding problem of the age: how to make Christianity serve mankind as Jesus served mankind.

Bishop Oxnam was as little a Communist as was his teacher. But in the perspective of history perhaps in his early ministry he could see the corrective nature and function of Marx in re-chanelling spiritual forces into realms that mattered, into the place where people were hurt and needed healing. But those who hurt the people had pre-empted the best pews in the churches. They held the purse-strings and could pass out positions of prestige and power in the church. Can it be that, as the young Bromley Oxnam grew older, the bright rewards of conformity distracted him so that he stumbled off the narrow Cross-bound road? Was this why in his testimony, as in his book, he appeared reticent in making reference to the lonely figure of his teacher who never left that road?

MORAL LEPROSY AND NUCLEAR POWER

When we started publishing these tracts in 1938 we thought there was a chance that decent people might prevent this continent from sliding further into the camp of mankind's enemies. A bare chance. We were never too sanguine about it.

Of one thing we were sure: if our common cause should fail the USA and its satellites would ultimately turn themselves in a gigantic moral leper colony that the rest of the world would be forced to keep as far away from as possible.

The outward signs of a terrible moral disease, visible as early as 1941 in the Lindbergh speech at Des Moines, have become uglier and more obvious since the summer of 1950, at which time, using a bribed and truncated UN as a veil, the USA showered fire and desolation on the Korean peninsula. Since then most of the veils have been dropped. Without shame the tiny New Deal Guatemala is heeled into the dirt. The Nazis and the Samurai are openly put back into uniform to undo the undoing of Hitler and

irohito. Internally, education retrogresses, the constitution is dyna-
ited, labor is either corrupted or terrorized, McCarthy and his allies
rain away the life-blood of the American democracy.

The churches? At the moment Eisenhower was praying for peace with the
orld Council of Churches at Evanston he was also sending the US 7th fleet
n an aggressive mission into Chinese waters. His mild look and his pray-
rs are deceptive. Dulles used to do these jobs of misleading the shep-
erds. But Dulles, now involved too obviously in his sinister role, is not
o ecclesiastically negotiable as formerly when he was merely preparing
or it.

The great majority of the delegates at Evanston were quite honest.
r. Hromadka preached a great sermon there. Bishop Peter and others tried
eroically to enlighten Americans as to the realities in Hungary and Czecho-
lovakia (the Polish delegates were barred by the US State Department).

Nevertheless the meeting at Evanston has been largely turned to the
urposes of capitalist propaganda, intended to throw dust in the eyes of
evout people so they won't see what is going on. Eisenhower's appearance
as clever American publicity to sell war wrapped up in a dummy bible.

Apparently with its present set-up the ecumenical movement is not free
o express the moral indignation of mankind in the face of the recent crime
n Guatemala and the blatant aggression beyond Formosa with its direct con-
rete threat of war. Being morally and materially supported by the bene-
iciaries of the war system, it is vitiated at its foundation. Yes, some
ood resolutions were passed. But, without concrete application, and in-
eed passed at a moment when concrete contradictions are being practised
s above cited, in China and in Latin America, passed in a silence which
onsented to those contradictions, such resolutions are a mockery. They
re not intended to be carried out.

Has our common cause then failed? No. We have not succeeded, it is
rue. Yet all our efforts have not been for nothing. The cause will win,
nd sooner than we think, the cause of peace and dignity and happiness for
en's children! For those who have defeated us on this continent will be
ubjected to pressure from other continents, pressure which will rise in
ower and intensity, pressure of peace and plenty against war and poverty.
hose who so easily defeated us here will be defeated themselves, not by
ar but by peace, the great conqueror which has at last come clothed in
ower. Which brings us to consider the revolutionary meaning of nuclear
ower.

It would seem to be dawning on certain intelligences of the Western
orld that the discovery of nuclear power has a significance far beyond
ts effect on the arts of war, which it has raised to the point of van-
shing returns. It is true that the fact that nuclear weapons have out-
oded war has not yet found full recognition in the minds of US ruling
ircles. However, they will learn, one way or another.

But apart altogether from the fact that nuclear power has written finis
o the book of war, it has done an even more dramatic thing. It has writ-
en a strange new commentary on the book of Genesis.

The brain labor of scientists has lifted the weight of physical labor
rom the children of Adam and Eve.

News is arriving of nuclear manufacturing plants having been put into
peration in the Soviet Union with notable success and considerably ahead
f schedule. It is this news, rather than the rising stocks of Russian
-bombs, which keeps the beneficiaries and heirs of our great family for-
unes awake of nights.

For here is the threat of abundance against the organization of scarc-
ty. Here is socialist competition erupting into the placid world of non-
ompetitive cartelism and monopoly. "Free enterprise" is threatened with
nterprise that is free!

Let this not be taken to mean that the discovery of nuclear power has
utomatically inaugurated the era of plenty and peace. It is not nuclear
ower by itself, but nuclear power used by socialists, that is, by men who
ealize their identity with their working brothers, which will push the
orld into its new history.

FASCISM WAS SERVED

On April 17, 1947, Internal Revenue Commissioner Joseph D. Nunan, Jr. revoked a ruling of the Treasury Department, then in force since Sept. 7, 1940, which held us exempt from Federal Income Tax as a religious organization.

Your editor was of the opinion that the revocation of this ruling, a veritable death-blow, was a political act of repression. We marshalled numerous clerical witnesses to the religious character of our work and submitted them to the Treasury Department without success.

We now read in the Magazine of Wall Street that Joseph D. Nunan, Jr., former top US tax collector, drew a $15,000 fine and a 5 year jail sentence for evading his own income tax. He dodged payment of $91,000 between 1944 and 1950.

Thus while unilaterally, arbitrarily, and unjustly repressing our pap this anti-democratic agent was quite consistently stealing from the government he despised.

Such are the servants of US neo-fascism.

MATTHEWS THE MISINFORMER

Dr. J.B. Matthews, in a recent article in the American Mercury, pays his own brand of respect to our early tracts which influenced, he says, 700 churchmen to denounce the isolationist anti-Semitic speech made by Lindbergh in Des Moines, 1941. Matthews disapproved of our attack on the pro-Nazi Lindbergh. Appearing to have a special grudge against Dr. John Mackay, president of Princeton Seminary, he says that Dr. Mackay was reported by the Daily Worker to have signed this denunciation, but he doesn't add that the N.Y. Times, the N.Y. Tribune and hundreds of newspapers throughout the USA reported the same thing, which they did. That's the way Matthews tells a lie, by hiding 99% of the truth.

PLAIN PERFIDY

"Plain Perfidy" by Alan Winnington and Wilfred Burchett, (published by Britain-China Friendship Association, 228 Gray's Inn Rd., London W.C. 1, price 50 cents) is a sickening document of the tactics used by the US-UN Command in dealing both with Korean and Chinese prisoners and with their own prisoners returned by the other side.

According to their evidence, backed in many cases in our own press, th North Korean-Chinese treated our prisoners as well as was possible under the conditions. The prisoners themselves in returning to our side were so vocal in praise of their treatment that orders were given by our news services to pipe down and concentrate on stories of bad treatment.

"United Press Tokyo office received an urgent inner-office message from New York: 'NEED ONLY LIMITED COVERAGE ON RETURNING POW'S EXCEPT FOR TALES OF ATROCITIES AND SENSATIONS. PAYETTE.'"

To keep the war pot boiling in the US Dulles invented a Chinese "invasion" of Indo-China where the people were taking their country back from the French. This "invasion" was to be the excuse for <u>not</u> settling the Korean war inasmuch as a settlement would "release" Chinese troops from Korea for this fabricated "invasion" of Indo-China. Here is the end of the message of May 4, as reported by these authors, from the US Information Service—voice of the State Dept. to its public information officers to collect information, editorials, quotes from leaders, etc. on Laos:

"THE MATERIAL SHOULD SHOW THE BELIEF THAT THE INVASION OF LAOS IS ANOTHER CASE OF COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM IN ACTION STOP THE MATERIAL SHOULD BE FILED BY SIGNALS WHEREVER POSSIBLE STOP WHERE NOT USE COMMERCIAL FACILITIES PRESS RATE COLLECT ADDRESSED TO USINFO WASHINGTON"

Next day, UP, "whose close tie-up with the most bellicose elements in the US administration became clearer every day the Korean war went on," sent this to its Tokyo chief, Rutherford Poats:

"ATTENTION TOKYO POATS STOP COULD TOKYO SPECULATE THAT LAOS MAY BE

URELY MAO TSE TUNGS INDEPENDENT ACTION TO GRAB SOUTHEAST ASIA BEFORE REMLIN PEACE MOVES CRYSTALLISE ENOUGH TO PREVENT IT AND SUCH LIKE QUERY ISHER"

The puppets of press and radio of course obliged and to such effect hat the N.Y. Times and the Tribune joined in with Dulles to yell "Communst aggression," and the US Command stepped up its attacks on North Korea nd N.E. China without consulting its allies. In N.E. China (Antung) 257 en, women and children were killed by US Superforts. In Korea the irriation system was attacked endangering the lives of the whole civilian opulation. All this berserk atrocity bombing was of course the result of rustration.

Chapter V of this book describes the perpetration of a criminal plot by he US Command so base, so treacherous as to be almost unbelievable. These uthors say it was witnessed by dozens of Western journalists. The story f the "escape" of 27,000 prisoners held in ROK camps is familiar to newsaper readers everywhere. It always appeared strange, to say the least, hat such a large body of prisoners could break out of a properly guarded amp. 42 were reported killed and 114 wounded during one break-out.

According to a Reuter dispatch, "The announcement said that security uards did not fire on escaping prisoners, using only riot control measres in efforts to halt the break-out....gunfire at the prisoners came rom unknown origin."

"This was a palpable lie," say the authors. "Correspondents on the pot knew and reported that United States Marines shot at unarmed prisners because they were refusing to 'break out'." "British and European orrespondents were enraged and disgusted at the whole affair and hurled pithets such as 'murderers,' 'bloody butchers,' 'assassins,' 'savages,' t American officers who directed the operation as well as at American orrespondents who condoned it. Tempers were at white heat, and this utchery, gloatingly approved by the American pressmen, greatly widened he existing rift between them and their European colleagues."

In a former book, "Koje Unscreened," reviewed in these pages, the authors described the medieval methods by which the American Command, using hee and Chiang hitlerite agents, forced POW's to refuse repatriation. In his book they carry the story into the period when the POW's were placed n the custody of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and guarded y Indian troops.

For liaison with this neutral body the American Command set up the nited Nations Command Repatriation Group which immediately broadcast to he world that its main functions were "anti-repatriation". In other words t was set up to sabotage the work of the NNRC, which was to help prisoners xercise their right to repatriation. This of course exposed the hypocrisy f all the talk about respect for the individual. Actually "voluntary reatriation", so loudly trumpeted in our press, meant <u>forcible detention nd abduction</u> of prisoners, who were then delivered to the butchers Rhee nd Chiang.

The stories told by the pitiful survivors of this treatment, stories hose truth was written in mangled flesh and crazed eyes, make terrible eading.

"What was the price of 'voluntary repatriation'? It will never be nown in entirety. But we know that all prisoners in 'UN' hands were subected to terrible pressure, torture, forced tattooing and shooting to coerce them into 'refusing' to return home. Unknown thousands of prisoners ere killed and wounded on Koje and Cheju islands; 27,000 North Korean risoners were abducted in June, 1953, by Syngman Rhee with the connivance f American guards; 22,000 Chinese and Korean prisoners were handed into he custody of the Americans on January 20, 1954, and were promptly turned ver to their enemies, to be used as gun-fodder against their own flag; nknown numbers were murdered in the special agents' reign of the long nife that existed under the custody of the Indians."

"As far as American readers were concerned, Washington suppressed the ost sensational document that came out of Panmunjom—the Interim Report f the neutral powers charged with supervising the repatriation of pris-

oners. In wording the document was calm, legalistic and 'objective.' In fact it absolutely pinned down American perfidy in carrying out forced detention of prisoners under the guise of 'voluntary repatriation.' Halfway through its preparation, when the inevitable conclusions from the massing pile of evidence became clear, the Swiss and Swedes tried to prevent the report from being completed. This was natural because the Interim Report of the NNRC proved the Americans to be responsible for the agents, who were responsible for sabotaging the explanations and the armistice terms. The report will stand as a permanent record of the terrible things that must occur when prisoners are made the pawns of psychological war.

"'The Commission cannot record a finding that prisoners of war in its custody in the Southern Camp were completely freed from the influence of the former detaining (UN, i.e. American—authors) side, and in particular, of the authorities of the Republic of Korea whose incursions made it impossible for the Commission to come to any other conclusion....As for the Northern Camp, the Commission has no evidence of any activities of the former detaining (Korean-Chinese—authors) side in respect of the prisoners in that camp.'

"The Final Report of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission states that 'the prisoner-of-war organisations in the South Camp (UN side, authors) and the leadership which sustained them, negate all assumptions or assertions about freedom of choice...it would be a bare assertion unsupported by any evidence that the prisoners had voluntarily sought non-repatriation... any prisoner who desired repatriation had to do so clandestinely and in fear of his life.'

"In 1949, America was one of the powers most vocal in insisting on the Geneva Convention principle of repatriating all prisoners of war at the end of hostilities. By 1951, America had thrown the Convention overboard and seized on the prisoner issue as a guaranteed method of keeping the war going in the hope of turning stalemate into victory."

We would be charged with sensationalism if we quoted in detail from the testimony before the NNRC Court of Inquiry as reported here. Those who love justice will be deeply grateful to the authors for their achievement in presenting objectively and fairly a record portraying in terrible truth the depths of depravity to which men will descend in defense of the right to exploit.

CAN FRANCE BE ISOLATED?

On Sept. 1, 1954 the British government, after observing a moment of silence over the grave of the European Defence Community, called for an eight-power meeting to seek a substitute or alternative to that lamented abortion. The object is to arrange things so that a re-armed Western Germany will not be lost to the strength of the "free world".

The British decision to ask for West German re-armament will stipulate that safeguards be provided against any resurgence of national militarism. This would mean a restricted sovereignty.

As early as July 2, 1954, Adenauer, however, had threatened that if the French refused to ratify EDC "we shall refuse under all circumstances every attempt to re-arm us under unworthy conditions—every attempt to saddle us with a German army which is under any sort of control. There will be nothing to do except to form a German national army."

Now, even before the British announcement and in effect nullifying it, the West German government issued a communique demanding full sovereignty, an independent army, and in effect isolating France from the West.

So the Dulles policy of making West Germany the central pillar of "defence" against European socialism is advanced a long step toward fruition. If Western Germany is permitted to get away with this bold step (somewhat analogous to Hitler's march into the Rhineland) forces throughout Europe, long held under the surface, in France, in Italy, in the Scandinavian countries, will come out and show themselves. Even in England new forces will be precipitated out of solution.

The Labor Party, whose Executive Committee is at present committed to est German re-armament, will be compelled to re-appraise the situation. he Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany has in- ited such a re-appraisal and has asked the Labor Party to send a delega- ion to East Germany to discover for itself the attitude of the people here towards the West German dream of revenge and a third try at world omination. In their invitation they comment on the British Labor Party amphlet "In Defence of Europe" as follows:

"What the ruling circles of West Germany mean when they speak of a European Community' was shown by Bonn Minister Seebohm who declared: European culture is only to be found where German people live.' In a ook published in West Germany by SS General Hausser, the fascist SS are alled 'the pioneers of a free, united Europe.'

"The open threats uttered against France by Adenauer and other West erman politicians show that they continue the policy pursued by Hitler. istory has taught us how they will act once they possess arms. It is al- eady clear today that everyone who allies himself with them runs the risk f being drawn into disastrous adventures.

"The rearming of the German militarists would without doubt compel the eace-loving European states to intensify their efforts to defend them- elves, and would result in an armaments race which would not contribute o the maintenance of peace.

"It is impossible to ignore the fact that the ruling circles of the SA have entered into a plot with the German militarists. Their aim is un- istakable: to make West Germany the American policeman in western Europe.

"The German militarists and the nazis of yesterday are today already in he saddle in West Germany, so much so that even such a conservative poli- ician as the former Prime Minister of Baden-Wuertemberg, Reinhold Maier, ound himself compelled to state 'that important sections of the West Ger- an government are already hovering on the borderline between democracy and emi-authoritarianism.'"

After calling attention to falsified information in the pamphlet re- ating to the comparative strength of the police forces in East and West ermany, the Invitation goes on:

"The authors of the pamphlet stress that it is essential to avoid a epetition of the mistakes of the Versailles Peace Treaty, but they advo- ate a policy which is bound to lead to consequences even more dangerous han those of the Versailles Treaty. The Versailles Peace Treaty never nvisaged the division of Germany nor its integration into an aggressive ilitary alliance, and certainly not a fifty-year occupation of Germany by oreign troops.

"It is astonishing that the pamphlet...by calling for one-sided mili- ary, economic and political ties of West Germany with the countries of he Atlantic Pact, gives its consent to a further partitioning of Germany..."

What Dulles appears to be trying to engineer is the crass insanity of new war between Germany and France. And is not something like that fore- hadowed in this Bonn declaration of independence which boycotts France?

Is recent history to be repeated? Is Germany to be another Korea? an Adenauer, like Rhee, depend upon US support for his adventures? Is pain being strengthened as the lower jaw of the eagles's beak, the upper eing Western Germany?

All this fits neatly into the medievalists' dream of a resuscitated oly Roman Empire, held up by Franco's Moors and anti-Christian Nazis, inally punishing and obliterating every vestige of the French Revolution. he forces represented by McCarthy's mentor, the brilliant geo-politician onsignor Walsh of Georgetown University, who has trained many youngsters or the State Department, play the patient game of those who know how to ait and when to strike. Yet for these forces, as for the cartels, even ime itself is running out. While they stagger back and forth, trembling nder the weight of atomic decisions, a page of history has been turned by n unseen hand, so quietly that they have not heard it.

ONE

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